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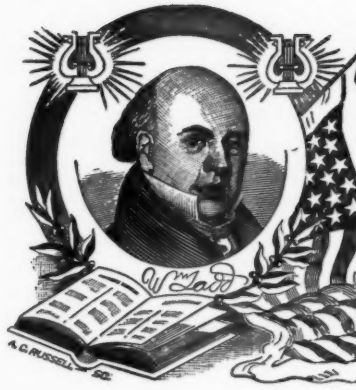
THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

Vol. LXII.

Boston:
American Peace Society,
1900.

JAN 17 1900



The ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOSTON, JANUARY, 1900.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Let it not be imagined that, were nations imbued with the spirit of Christianity, they would slumber in ignoble ease; that instead of the high-minded murderers who are formed on the present system of war, we should have effeminate and timid slaves. Christian benevolence is as active as it is forbearing. Let it once form the character of a people and it will attach them to every important interest of society. It will call forth sympathy in behalf of the suffering in every region under heaven. It will give a new extension to the heart, open a wider sphere to enterprise, inspire a courage of exhaustless resource, and prompt to every sacrifice and exposure for the improvement and happiness of the human race. Away then with the argument that war is needed as a nursery of heroism. The school of the peaceful Redeemer is infinitely more adapted to teach the nobler as well as the milder virtues which adorn humanity.

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

VOL. LXII. BOSTON, JANUARY, 1900. No. 1.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
PUBLISHERS,
NO. 3 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

MONTHLY, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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The Prospects of the Year.

In some respects the new year does not open under very favorable auspices. The war in the Philippines still goes on, occupying the attention of government and people, and making a permanent and expensive increase in the military and naval establishments more and more certain. To what this is ultimately to lead and what the permanent effect is to be upon the character of the people and the nation cannot be foreseen with clearness, but the outlook is of ill omen. It is not only wrong, but an evidence of moral weakness, poverty of character and unworthy patriotism to shut one's eyes to the dark prospect, and carelessly let things run adrift.

On the other side of the water the prospect is sad beyond expression. A war which is almost universally condemned throughout the civilized world is raging between two peoples who ought to be living in fraternal relations of the most cordial kind. They are shooting down and maiming each other by thousands. Homes—how many God only can count—are being filled with grief and paralyzing dread, and many of them wrecked forever. The preparations and the determined spirit manifested on both sides prophesy more bloody and awful scenes to come, and however the conflict may ultimately be settled, Boer and Briton will hereafter hate each other in South Africa with an intensity that will bode many ills in the years to come. The whole of Europe, which is not in the least slackening its insane rivalry of armaments, is looking on with an evil eye, and, whether it falls into the struggle or not, its evil genius of militarism is sure, as the result of Britain's military display, to take stronger possession of it than heretofore. From every point of view the South African war is deplorable.

With these things going on, there are those who consider the cause of peace as utterly hopeless, and all efforts put forth in its behalf as wasted. This is not our view. The existence of this dark outlook is in itself a clarion call to duty. But, besides, there are three considerations of a positive nature which clearly indicate that the wave of the peace movement is higher and mightier than ever before, in spite of the strong undertow setting backward.

The first of these considerations is the prospect of the early establishment of the permanent international court of arbitration provided for by the Hague Conference. This is now assured. The twenty-six powers represented at the Conference have now all, through their delegates, signed the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes. With most of them this is equal to ratification. Shortly the ratifications will begin to be deposited at The Hague. After Secretary Hay's strong recommendation of the convention to the Senate, to which reference is made on another page, there is no doubt that our government will shortly be in position to send its ratification. Our delegates while at The Hague signed the convention under instructions from the President. The setting up of this court by the joint action of the nations will be the greatest practical step forward taken by the peace movement since it was organized, the greatest political step towards

international harmony since history began. To talk of the peace cause being hopeless, in the presence of this extraordinary attainment, is to be guilty of inexcusable blindness.

The other two considerations are equally important in their way. The peace movement was never so widely spread, so thoroughly organized and so aggressive as it is now. It is also on a new vantage ground of respect in public opinion, given it by the Hague Conference. The movement has also gone far beyond the borders of the organized peace associations, and many men and women, in various positions of power and trust, are throwing their influence constantly against war. No cause can fail whose supporters become constantly more numerous, better organized, more intelligent and more aggressive.

The other consideration has great significance. Every war nowadays has to defend itself against an intelligent and persistent opposition. Once war in the abstract was opposed, but every particular war justified or excused by practically everybody. This is no longer the case. The present war in the Philippines is so strongly opposed, on both political and moral grounds, by so large a portion of the best and most intelligent and most patriotic people of the country, that the President feels compelled in his latest message to devote a whole newspaper column of argument in defense against the powerful indictment. The same is true of the war in South Africa. Not only has it been condemned by public sentiment outside of England, but by many leading Englishmen themselves, both in public and private life. These wars are a heavy burden on the growing conscience of the civilized world, and it is likely that any future wars will be even more so. This is a significant sign of promise which not even the sudden darkness of these days can hide from view.

The year before us, we believe, is destined to see remarkable events in the way of peace. A great reaction is sure to come when the present wars are over, and before the century closes there is still reason to hope that the sun of peace and goodwill will break through the clouds with a brilliancy never yet seen.

Needs of Our Work.

The condition of our funds compels us again to ask our members and friends for generous contributions in support of the work of the year. Their ready response in the past makes us confident that we shall not appeal in vain at the present time. We shall need at least fifteen hundred dollars in addition to what is expected from ordinary sources, and could use most profitably many times that sum.

Circumstances over which we have no control have temporarily rendered a considerable portion of the Peace Fund held in trust for our use much less productive than formerly. This has greatly reduced our income. This condition, brought about by the decay of buildings, cannot be improved until an advantageous sale of properties and a reinvestment of funds can be made.

Meantime, with greatly enlarged opportunities, the demands upon us have grown heavier every year. Many fields have opened and are still opening for the circulation of our periodicals and our pamphlet literature. This work for the most part has to be done gratuitously. Without increased resources we cannot meet the demand, even to the extent which we have been doing.

It would be unfortunate in every way to be compelled to cut down our work at the present time. The triumphs the past year, through the Hague Conference, of the principles which the American Peace Society has for over seventy years advocated, place peace work henceforth in a position of power and promise hitherto unknown. Every effort should be put forth to make the most of the advantageous circumstances. The fruits of victory must not be thrown away, in the presence of an enemy ever returning to the conflict. The evil against which we are contending is alarmingly aggressive. It shows no disposition to quit the field. It spares nothing of that which is dearest in life. No attainment of civilization seems safe before it.

Money, in sums incredibly vast, is voted for new —ever new—war preparations. In comparison with a single one of the latest war credits,—one hundred million dollars for the French navy and coast defences,—in comparison even with the private contributions made for the glorification of a single war hero, how small seems all that has ever been given for the great and holy cause of peace! If the peace movement has made such progress without money, what might it not have done with a tithe of the war budgets in its treasury!

We wish we could do the work so loudly called for without money. But we have not yet discovered any way to do it. We do not ask our friends for millions: dollars will do just as well if plenty of them come. We shall be very grateful for any contributions, large or small, which our friends may send. And we shall be more pleased still to receive the names of a large number of new members of the Society and new subscribers to the ADVOCATE OF PEACE and the ANGEL OF PEACE. Have all checks and money orders drawn payable to the American Peace Society.

The President's Message.

The President's message, read to Congress on the 5th of December, had been awaited with interest, though on all important matters it was clear beforehand what he would say. We note here only what is said of our relations with foreign countries.

In his review of these relations, he refers to the service rendered by our minister at Buenos Ayres as umpire in an arbitration between the Argentine Republic and Chili. An extradition treaty has been made with the Argentine Republic. The Austro-Hungarian government's claim for indemnity for the killing of certain subjects of that country by the authorities of Pennsylvania in suppressing a riot at Lattimer had been carefully considered, and the government, following its long-established doctrine, was constrained to decline liability to indemnify the sufferers. Allusion was made with pleasure to the lessening of restrictions by the Belgian government on the importation of cattle from this country.

Our government had declined to be represented at a congress at Brussels to revise the provisions of the general act of 1890 for the suppression of the African slave trade, but reserved the right of accession to the result. Our minister to Bolivia had remained at his post during the successful insurrection in that country, and had then been directed to enter into relations with the new government. The extradition treaty with Brazil had been completed by the ratification of the Brazilian legislature. The long-standing controversy with Colombia over the seizure of an American-owned newspaper had been amicably settled by the authorities of Colombia agreeing to pay $30,000 in three annual instalments. Colombia had cordially extended facilities of investigation to the commission which is to examine the Panama Canal route. No results had yet been obtained in the discussions with Denmark as to the restrictions on the importation of American cattle. Reference is made in the message to the revolution in Santo Domingo and to the new government, into relations with which ours has entered; also to the failure of the federation of Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvador, and the rearrangement of ministers thereby necessitated.

The President again calls the attention of Congress to the importance of an isthmian canal, for which he now finds stronger reasons than before. He is pleased with the friendliness shown this country by Chili, in assisting the warship Newark when in distress, and also with her adherence to the Bureau of American Republics, in which organization every independent American state now shares. He renews his recommendation that a commission be appointed to study the commercial and industrial conditions in the Chinese empire, and report as to the opportunities offered there for the raw materials and manufactures of the United States. The President alludes at considerable length to the unbroken historic ties of this country with France, and to the Paris Exposition, and is confident that the American Exhibit, in which the unprecedented number of over seven thousand exhibitors will take part, will be one of great value to the world. Our relations with Germany are declared to be most cordial, and our rivalry with her in commerce should be generous and open. Reciprocity negotiations with her are in progress, and points of difference as to insurance, food importation, etc., are in the way of being satisfactorily adjusted.

The message points out the work of the joint high commission in endeavoring to adjust the difficulties with Canada, the failure to finish its work, and expressed the hope that the temporary adjustment of the question of boundary may soon lead to a permanent one. All our relations with Great Britain in our "vast and intricate intercourse" with her have been most friendly. The government has observed strict neutrality in the case of the unfortunate war in South Africa, and the President declares, we are glad to see, that he would have been pleased to offer to mediate if circumstances had suggested that the parties would have welcomed the tender of good offices.

Referring to the lynching of Italian subjects in Louisiana, the fourth instance of the kind within the decade, the President repeats the wise suggestion, made by President Harrison, that Congress should confer upon the federal courts jurisdiction in the case of offences against the treaty rights of foreigners domiciled in the United States. A cable to Manila is recommended. The friendly relations with Japan are commented upon, and the fact noted of her entrance into the sisterhood of nations as a fully independent power, and the admirable way in which she has performed so far the new duties thereby assumed.

The year has been marked, the message says, by constant increase in the intimacy of our relations with Mexico, a new extradition treaty has been made, the international water boundary commission is still at work, and this government has omitted no opportunity to strengthen and perpetuate the long-existing cordiality between the two countries. Russia, with which most friendly relations have continued, has shown her loyalty to the beneficent principle of arbitration by agreeing to submit to an arbitrator the question of claims growing out of the seizure of American vessels in Behring Sea. The Samoan difficulties have been finally adjusted by an agreement in accordance with which England withdraws, and the islands are divided between this country and Germany. Claims growing out of losses caused by the suppression of the insurrection have been submitted to a commission for adjustment.

The President declares that our minister to Turkey continues under instructions to press for the settlement of claims for the loss of American property

in the empire. Our relations with the Porte are far from satisfactory, because of the refusal of Turkey to recognize the alien status of native Turks naturalized abroad, and because of the arbitrary treatment of some American productions. Gratification is expressed that the friction between Great Britain and Venezuela has been ended by the award of the Arbitration Commission. The work of our consuls in reporting on foreign trade is declared to be most valuable. Commercial and reciprocity treaties with several countries have been negotiated, and others are under way.

A review of all these matters touched by the message shows how vast and intricate our international relations have become, and what a field they offer for patient wisdom and for the promotion of international good feeling and friendly coöperation. We are glad to be able to say that in these relations our government has for the most part pursued a course which commends itself to the hearty approval of the friends of peace and international concord. The Hague Conference is treated by the President as one of the most important international events of the year, and he declares that "the convention for the pacific settlement of international conflicts may be regarded as realizing the earnest desire of great numbers of American citizens, whose deep sense of justice, expressed in numerous resolutions and memorials, has urged them to labor for this noble achievement."

The two subjects most extensively treated in the message are those of Cuba and the Philippine Islands. The treatment of the Cuban question is, on the whole, satisfactory. The President declares that the joint resolution adopted by Congress on April 19, 1898, to leave the government and control of the island to its people, has given the Cubans a pledge which is "of the highest honorable obligation and must be sacredly kept." His treatment of the subject would have been more satisfactory if he had omitted some sentences about "turning adrift any loosely framed commonwealth to face the vicissitudes which too often attend weaker states," etc. There has been a strong feeling in Cuba that President McKinley has meant to annex the island, and such an utterance as this takes a good deal of the force out of the declaration about sacredly keeping the government's pledge.

Half of what the President says on the subject of the Philippines is a long, special plea, in our judgment fundamentally erroneous, for the occupancy of the country by the United States and for the righteousness of the war which has been waged against the Filipino forces. The rest of his remarks are devoted to a statement of what has been done in organizing civil government, and of the grave responsibilities resting upon Congress in saying how the islands shall be governed. He takes pains, however, to tell Congress that nothing but American sovereignty is, in his judgment, possible; that an independent government under an American protectorate is not worthy of serious consideration; that such a thing would be "the beginning of an era of misery and violence worse than any which has darkened their unhappy past." It is hard to restrain one's pen in presence of this sweeping Presidential derogation of the Filipino leaders and people and un-American plea for the right to the territory of ten millions of people by conquest of arms and without any wish or permitted choice of their own. But we have not space to discuss the matter here, and, besides, the other side of the question has already been fully presented in our columns.

Editorial Notes.

Report on the Hague Convention.

The President sent to the Senate on December 20 the convention agreed to at the Hague Conference last July, for the pacific settlement of international controversies, and the declaration to prohibit for five years the launching of explosives from balloons. The President's message was a mere formal letter of transmittal, except that it invited attention to an accompanying report from the Secretary of State urging immediate action by the Senate. We give the Secretary's report below. It is expected that the Senate will take the matter up soon after it reassembles after the holidays, and that it will give its assent to ratification without much delay. The impression prevails among some that the convention was to be ratified before the first of January or lapse. But this is not true. Article 58 provided that "the present convention shall be ratified with as little delay as possible." There is, therefore, in fact no time limit. But it will be a great gain if the Senate acts promptly, as we believe it will. Much greater force will be given to the convention and the important organization which will follow its ratification if it goes into effect immediately and with the sincere and hearty support of the Senate of the United States.

Secretary Hay's Recommendation.

To the President: The undersigned, Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to their transmission to the Senate, to receive the advice and consent of that body to their ratification, a copy of a convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, signed at The Hague on July 29, 1899, by the plenipotentiaries of the United States, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Mexico, France, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Siam, Sweden and Norway and Bulgaria; and a copy of a declaration to prohibit for a term of five years the launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other new methods of a similar nature, signed at The Hague on July 19, 1899, by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and the

plenipotentiaries of the powers represented at the international peace conference at The Hague.

The original of each of these two instruments was signed in a single copy, which remains in the archives of the Netherlands government. The department of state is advised by the minister of the United States at The Hague that since July 29 the following signatures have been attached to the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes:

By the plenipotentiaries of Italy on Oct. 12, 1899; by the plenipotentiary of Austria-Hungary, Oct. 17, 1899; by the plenipotentiary of Luxembourg, Oct. 26, 1899; by the plenipotentiary of Servia, Nov. 17, 1899.

In signing the convention the following declaration was made by the plenipotentiaries of the United States:

"Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign states; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

I respectfully recommend that the attention of the Senate be called to the importance of immediate action being taken on the convention, in view of the fact that a sufficient number of ratifications will soon be obtained to authorize the organization of the tribunal, and the large part taken by the United States in the preliminary work renders it desirable that this country should not occupy a secondary place.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN HAY.

What Victoria Might Do.

Commenting on the Elandslaagte slaughter with its "pig-sticking" of the Boers, and the late dispatch of General Methuen that "they (the Boers) have been most kind to our wounded," Josiah W. Leeds writes: "Now, if the Christian Sovereign of Great Britain and India, who two years ago celebrated the jubilee of her sixty years' reign, and of whom it was said she would never again set her hand to a declaration of war, will emulate the example of honest John Bright in giving up his seat in the Cabinet upon the bombardment of Alexandria; that is to say, if she will make it known to her lords, commoners and liege subjects that the love of Christ will allow her no longer to assent to the wicked strife, and that if it be not terminated by the ways of peace, she will abdicate her throne,—I surely think that the war systems of the world would receive a shock such as quite failed to reach them through the recent rescript of the Czar."

No Alliance with England.

A part of Mr. Chamberlain's "new diplomacy" has been to bring about an alliance with this country. His assumption, in his speech on the first day of December, flung particularly at France, that such an alliance had actually been concluded, as also one with Germany, was as bold and unscrupulous as any of his dealings with the Transvaal government. "The union, or alliance, if you please, between these two great nations, Great Britain and the United States, is a guaranty of the peace of the world." These were his words, as full of falseness on the one hand as of hollow mockery on the other. No such alliance has ever been broached from our side of the water, and curiously enough "these two great nations" are the only ones at war. Secretary Hay quickly punctured the bubble blown into the air by Mr. Chamberlain to frighten France and Russia. He declared that his statements made during the Ohio campaign were as true the first of December as when first made:

"There is no alliance with England nor with any power under heaven, except those known and published to the world—the treaties of ordinary international friendship for purposes of business and commerce. No treaty other than these exists; none has been suggested on either side; none is in contemplation. It has never entered into the mind of the President nor of any member of the government to forsake under any inducement the wise precept and example of the fathers, which forbade entangling alliance with European powers."

It is not to be wondered at that Lord Rosebery was moved by Mr. Chamberlain's remarks to deprecate such unstatesmanlike utterances. "We have been over ready to flout other nations, and it is no wonder that Great Britain is unpopular abroad. I do trust that this undiplomatic frankness will cease, for these stinging words rankle long afterward, and it is not for statesmen to speak under the passing irritation of the moment." The attempt to frighten France on account of some scurrilous utterances of her gutter press, by boldly announcing an alliance with Germany and the United States, is something much worse than "undiplomatic frankness." The general effect in this country of Mr. Chamberlain's speech, and most likely in Germany, has been to further weaken the already slender confidence in his honesty and purity of motive, and to deepen sympathy with the Boer cause. At any rate, that sympathy has grown steadily during the entire past month. All such talk of alliance between Great Britain and the United States tends also to weaken the real bond of friendship between the two countries and between them and other countries. This ought to be strengthened continually, and both public men and private citizens ought to abstain from all that kind of chauvinistic national and race boasting whose ultimate fruit is always distrust and estrangement. Nothing but

justice and fairness towards all peoples, and a sincere regard for all, can result in real peace and good understanding even between any two of them.

Chamberlain's War in Africa.

The current number of the *American Monthly Review of Reviews* reiterates its charge that Mr. Chamberlain is the guilty cause of the war in South Africa. It says:

"It had been the confident boast of the British promoters of the war in South Africa that their troops would eat their Christmas dinners at Pretoria, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein. The Tory press of England spoke of the Boer as a mere fly on the wheel of the chariot of Progress, to be crushed at a single turn. It was Mr. Chamberlain's opinion, undoubtedly, that the Boers would not fight. As we explained at the time, Mr. Chamberlain never dreamed of bringing a hideous war upon England, being confident in the potency of those methods of his that had some time been lauded by his admirers as the "new diplomacy." His theory was that the way to get all you want in dealing with a small power is to invent pretexts for a quarrel, appear to have serious grievances, enter upon a course of ever-shifting and increasing demands, and, while negotiations are still pending, to ship troops and make all the appearance of preparation for war. To Mr. Chamberlain's great surprise, the small nation of like blood with the men who under William of Orange fought against the army of the Spanish Inquisition spoiled the game of the new diplomacy by preferring to fight against incomparable odds rather than to do the obliging and logical thing and permit themselves to be bluffed."

We have not the least doubt that a majority of the people of Great Britain hold this same view of Mr. Chamberlain. A soldier on one of the transports, writing back from the Canaries, reports his comrades as "cussing Chamberlain" for getting them into the war. But the war is on, say these same people, and must be fought out at no matter what cost in money, men and suffering. Instead of driving Mr. Chamberlain from the Cabinet and disowning his war and stopping at once the dreadful carnage which he has brought on,—a proceeding which would awaken the world's admiration and set civilization forward a century,—the nation, from a false sense of dignity and honor, prefers to shoulder his sin and shame and carry them through. In all the by-elections recently held, abnormally large majorities have been given to the Conservative candidates, not because the policy of the Colonial Secretary is believed in, but because loyalty to the government is strangely set above the clearest behests of moral principle. If the Boers should finally win in the struggle, this same lot of people would be so "righteously" mad against the author of the war that he could hardly remain in safety on the island. This may be his fate anyway when the bloody tragedy is ended. But will not these present supporters be as guilty as he?

Impression in Europe.

The secretary of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, Mr. Elie Ducommun, writes thus of the feeling in Europe about the Transvaal War:

"The general impression produced by the first hostilities in the Transvaal is, except among certain classes specially interested in war, that of painful deception and astonishment. It had been hoped that the British authorities would try, by a conciliatory attitude towards the Boers, to keep the sympathies on the continent which the liberal institutions of England had awakened toward that country. That has not been the case. Pride has triumphed over reason, and under the sway of the passions of the moment, humane counsels have had no more place than the suggestions of a sane future policy. It seems as if a veil of mourning had been spread over Europe, and it is with sadness that people talk with each other in a subdued voice of the progress of the fratricidal strife now going on.

"If some disagreement, even more grave than that which divides the English and the Boers, had arisen between two of the powers represented at the Hague Conference, it is almost certain that the parties in dispute would have had recourse to the means of adjustment recommended by the delegates of the states, and that thus we should have had the practical consecration of the results obtained a few months ago by the friends of peace. A fatal concurrence of circumstances brought face to face two adversaries, one of whom, the more powerful, is contesting with the other the title of an independent state with the prerogative of taking advantage of the guaranties of peace assured to every autonomous nation by the Hague Convention. Thus the first occasion for testing this valuable instrument of international mediation and arbitration is found to turn to the detriment of the principles which it had been hoped might be applied to the first controversy arising between governments."

The Peace Bureau is doing everything in its power to bring influences to bear to induce the belligerents to accept mediation and the neutral governments to offer their good offices in accordance with the provisions of Article 3 of the Hague Convention.

Pope Leo's Complaint.

In his allocution at the middle of December, the Pope took occasion again to express his dissatisfaction that he was not invited to send a representative to the Hague Peace Conference. He laid the blame on Italy, and claimed that the papacy was as much entitled to send a delegate as any of the great powers. He desired to be represented in the Conference, both because of his personal interest in the cause of justice and peace, and because he considered his apostolic powers as specially entitling him to be peacemaker. We believe that the Pope is sincerely interested in the cause of peace and has done much to promote it. We are sorry, however, that he should feel as he does about the exclusion of the papacy from the Hague Conference. As we said at the time, Roman

Catholicism was not discriminated against in the Conference as a religious organization. Catholic statesmen from several countries were in the Conference, one of the five foremost men in it being a Catholic. The papacy was not allowed to send a delegate because it is no longer a temporal power. To have admitted the Pope's representative would have been an admission by all the powers represented that the papacy as such is a sovereign temporal power. This they could not have done without renouncing the constitutional principles of their national life. Italy led in the opposition, but if the matter had been put to vote, it is doubtful if a single government of the twenty-six represented would have given its voice to admit the papal nuncio. Of course, the papacy could not be admitted as a religious organization. Any other religious body might just as appropriately have claimed the right of representation. On the score of real service to the peace cause, the Society of Friends, for instance, might with much more reason have claimed the right to send a delegate. This complaint of the Pope, which seems to be made on political grounds, will, we fear, greatly lessen confidence in the sincerity of his professed attachment to the principles of peace, and we are sorry that he could not have omitted it. He is in a position, as the head of a great religious organization, to do an immense service to the cause of international concord, if the matter is kept entirely free from all other considerations, especially such considerations as place him in direct opposition to the principles of the governments as political organizations.

Increase of the Navy.

As had been expected, Secretary Long in his annual report recommends an increase in the United States navy, "to meet future demands which may be made upon it." He says that "the number of large, swift and powerful armored cruisers of great coal endurance in our navy is largely disproportionate to the rest of the naval establishment." He recommends, therefore, the building of "three armored cruisers of about thirteen thousand tons trial displacement, of a maximum draft at deep load not to exceed twenty-six feet, carrying the heaviest armor and most powerful ordnance for vessels of their class, to be sheathed and coppered and to have the highest practicable speed and great radius of action." He also recommends the construction of twelve gunboats of about nine hundred tons trial displacement, to be sheathed and coppered," and "three protected cruisers of about eight thousand tons trial displacement, carrying the most powerful ordnance for vessels of their class, to be sheathed and coppered, and to have the highest practicable speed and great radius of action." When these eighteen war vessels are added to those already built and building, it will then probably be ingeniously discovered that other departments of the navy have fallen greatly behind, and new demands for "large, swift and powerful" ships will be made.

Governor-General of Cuba.

After a year of service, General Brooke has been relieved of the governor-generalship of Cuba and General Wood appointed to the place. The new appointment is universally approved in this country and gives great satisfaction to the Cubans. General Wood, who is to all intents and purposes a civilian, has done such admirable work at Santiago that much is expected from him in his new and more responsible position at Havana. The new position is by no means as difficult now as it was when General Brooke took it, and we are afraid that the latter has not been given all the credit that he deserves. General Wood thoroughly believes that our government must be true to its pledge of independence to the Cubans. This gives him their hearty confidence. He is taking the wise course of consulting with and asking the coöperation of General Gomez and other leading Cubans in different parts of the island, in what he proposes to do towards further preparing the way for independence. His administration is to have as little of the military as possible in it. On his advice some of the troops have already been ordered home. He has expressed the opinion that there is now no more need of soldiers in Cuba than in this country, and the number will be further reduced. We have not the least doubt that this course will produce the best possible results, and that whatever tension there has been because of fear that this country meant to hold Cuba by military force, in order ultimately to annex it, will be entirely relieved. General Wood has formed a new cabinet, the members of which are considered capable men, and the work of developing a home government ought now to proceed smoothly and rapidly.

Transvaal War.

During the month of December the war in South Africa has grown in dimensions and in seriousness. The sieges of Mafeking, Kimberly and Ladysmith have continued. Various sorties have been made by the English resulting in considerable losses. The bombardment of Ladysmith has grown more deadly and the condition of the besieged has become more critical. The British forces have suffered three disastrous reverses. First, General Gatacre was defeated at Stormberg, then General Methuen at Modder River, and lastly General Buller, the commander-in-chief, at Colenso. The severe losses in these engagements have carried the total British losses up to at least eight thousand. The Boers took many prisoners. Their losses are not known, but are probably not so great as the English. These repeated disasters have amazed

England and brought great sorrow to the whole country. The war office has called out the last of the reserves and is rushing them to South Africa. Volunteers are also being called into service, and further contingents are being sent from the colonies. Since the defeat of General Buller there have been no further serious engagements. Field-Marshal Roberts has been placed in supreme command, with General Kitchener as chief of staff, and the two are now on their way to South Africa. The British have seized a cargo of American flour on its way to Lourenço Marquez, and also captured a German vessel with men on board supposed to be going to fight for the Boers. What diplomatic complications will be the result is not yet known. There are said to be many thousands of foreigners in the Boer armies, and the number to be increasing continually. There has been serious talk of England seizing Delagoa Bay, in order to prevent supplies and men reaching the Boers through Portugese territory, but as yet no such action has been taken. Sympathy for the Boers is very strong all over Europe and it is rapidly increasing in this country, where pro-Boer meetings have been held in many places and pro-Boer resolutions passed. It is now estimated that the war will cost England not less than five hundred million dollars, the present expenses being about ten millions per week. The other powers have not yet made any move toward intervention, nor even toward the offer of mediation.

Philippine Events.

During the month past an active campaign has been carried on in the north of Luzon by the American forces. A vigorous effort has been made to find and capture Aguinaldo, but he has succeeded in getting away into the mountains and his whereabouts is not now known. Many small engagements with bands of Filipinos have taken place, in which several American lives have been lost. The chief of these was that of General Lawton at San Mateo, who was shot while standing in front of the line of his troops. General Otis considers the Filipino opposition in the north of Luzon now practically overcome, their forces being broken up into small bands and scattered. Several ports along the northwest coast of the island have been opened to commerce, making possible again the export of hemp. General Otis is now turning the efforts of the American forces toward the south of the island where considerable bodies of Filipinos still are assembled. Recently considerable activity has been shown by them near Manila and preparations for an uprising in the city have been discovered. The breaking up of the Filipino army into small bands must not be looked at too sanguinely. They are likely to get together again very easily. Captured Filipinos say that this method is adopted purposely. There are now 65,000 American troops on the island, the last of the volunteers having gone from this country. The men are reported as suffering severely from the hardships of campaigning, and a considerable list has just been sent to the War Department of soldiers who have gone insane. Congress is reported as not proposing to do anything towards arranging a government for the Philippines until all opposition to American sovereignty is broken down.

The Sulu Treaty.

Christian Work comments as follows on the treaty made by General Bates with the Sultan of Sulu, which has been sent to the Senate for ratification:

"Upon this treaty, pending its fuller discussion in the Senate, we would at the present time invite attention to four points: First, the treaty contains no acknowledgment of the rights of American citizens to reside in Sulu or any of its dependencies, or to be protected in the exercise of such rights, beyond the vague statement in Article 12, that 'at present Americans or foreigners wishing to go into the country should state their wishes to the Moro authorities and ask for an escort, but it is hoped that this will become unnecessary as we know each other better." Secondly, there is no assertion of the rights of American missionaries to prosecute their efforts for ameliorating the barbarous conditions that exist in the islands, and to be protected in carrying on this work, so essential in the development of civilization. Thirdly, there is no declaration of the purpose nor assertion of any right to establish any schools or educational institutions in any of the Sulu group.

Lastly, we have to add that the reader who searches the treaty for any clause providing for or even looking to the ultimate manumission of the slaves on an equitable basis will search for it in vain. The only article bearing upon slavery, beyond the distinctively protective third Article, is the tenth, which allows the poor Moro slave to buy his freedom when he can get enough money together to satisfy his owner, or the Sultan, or both, that he is offering "the usual market value" of men; and the matter is one which, under the terms of the treaty, comes exclusively within the province of the Sultan's government to determine. This is the treaty that the Senate is called upon to ratify.

We have only to add that very little is required to save us from presenting the spectacle of being the greatest slaveholding Christian power in the world, and that is simply to strike out from the treaty the clause placing Sulu under the dominion of the American flag. But if we are to retain Sulu, how very much remains to be done which is not provided for in the treaty, if we would stand justified to our consciences and before the world for exercising sovereignty over a pagan, slaveholding people."

Death of Daniel Hill.

Daniel Hill, who had been secretary of the Peace Association of American Friends for thirty years, died at his home at Richmond, Indiana, on the 16th of November, at the age of 82. He was one of the truest, purest, most sensible,

most philanthropic men whom it has been our pleasure to know. He was a man of excellent intellect, of remarkable sweetness and benevolence of disposition, of tireless activity, and of a broad, liberal mind, free from cant, bigotry and illiberality, though thoroughly loyal to truth as he saw it after careful investigation and consideration. He was always greatly interested in public affairs, in which he was guided by principle, considering the obligations of citizenship as binding as those of private life or of religion. Indeed, his religion covered the whole sphere of his life, and he would no more have allowed himself any laxity in political matters than he would have done so within the walls of the church. He served at one time as Senator through three sessions of the Indiana state legislature. He became general secretary of the Friends' Peace Association in 1869, and held that office until his death. He was editor of the *Messenger of Peace* for about twenty-five years. For the past two years he had published a little paper called the *Messenger*, in the interest of the peace cause, in whose growing strength he took the profoundest satisfaction. His devotion to the cause of peace grew out of his religious principles; indeed, he considered the principles of peace as lying at the very heart of the Christian religion. When others grew indifferent or disloyal to the cause, when the elements of animosity and discord seemed temporarily to prevail over those of love and brotherhood, he never wavered and never for a moment lost faith in the ultimate complete triumph of peace. His practical motto was, "Keep pegging away," and the pegs which he himself drove in the advancement of the work were neither few nor weak. Very recently, in looking back over his long life which had covered nearly the whole of this "wonderful century," he wrote: "It is a great comfort to me in my old age to recollect that no brother's blood crieth from the ground unto God at my hands, that my hands were never imbued in my brother's blood, that there is no widow on earth made such by any act of mine, that no orphans cry unto God because I have slain their father; but, on the contrary, I have done what I could to promote 'peace on earth and goodwill among men.'" This was the modest song of triumph of what was really a great and good life, pure of sin and wrong on the one hand, full of right living and good deeds on the other.

Mrs. Bailey.

Mrs. Bailey, the able and indefatigable superintendent of the peace department of both the National and the World's W. C. T. U., leaves her home at Winthrop Center, Me., on New Year's day for an extended trip in this country and abroad. After a week in Chicago, where her address will be the Woman's Temple, she goes South for a short stay with her children, who are spending the winter in North Carolina. She will then be in California, with address at Pasadena, until April. She expects then to return East and, if nothing prevents, to sail for Europe on the 16th of June. While in Europe she will attend the Biennial Convention of the World's W. C. T. U. at Edinburgh, where she will make her report of the work of the peace department. From Edinburgh she goes to Paris to see something of the Exposition. She will then visit Oberammergau to witness the Passion Play, and afterwards go to the North Cape before returning home in August. Her son, M. M. Bailey of Portland, Me., expects to accompany her on the European trip. We hope Mrs. Bailey will change her plans to the extent of being able to attend the International Peace Congress which is to be held at Paris during the first five days of October. All her friends—and everybody who knows her is her friend—will wish her long journey to be a safe, happy and very useful one.

Brevities.

. . . Hon. Frederick W. Holls, secretary of the American Commission at the Hague Conference, has been giving addresses in various places on the work of the Conference, about which no one is more capable than he of speaking authoritatively.

. . . The Peace Society, London, sent out in December over 30,000 invitations to observe Peace Sunday, and received in reply more favorable answers than in any previous year.

. . . According to *El Imparcial*, a Spanish journal, the Spanish armies in Cuba lost 54,569 men, in killed, died of wounds, died of disease and hunger, and missing. Of these nearly two-fifths, or about 30,000, died from hunger as the chief cause.

. . . The emperor of China has issued a decree forming a national guard, and requiring every man to serve a certain time in the ranks. This is the beginning of conscription, which, if persisted in, will turn the Chinese into a military people.

. . . The vote in the House of Representatives, excluding Brigham H. Roberts of Utah from a seat, pending an investigation of the charges of polygamy against him, was 302 to 30.

. . . The Friends University, Wichita, Kan., has unanimously adopted resolutions declaring war the most inhuman, irrational, un-Christian and expensive mode of settling disputes; invoking the Senate to ratify the Hague Convention; favoring disarmament; encouraging the formation of peace societies in schools and colleges. The Historic Society of the university is to hold two public meetings a year to promote arbitration and disarmament.

. . . On the nineteenth ult., at Detroit, the American Federation of Labor, representing 1,500,000 members of labor unions, voted unanimously that all wars of conquest, "whether waged in Africa, the Philippines or

elsewhere," greatly endanger the liberties of the conquered peoples. It also declared against any increase of our standing army beyond 25,000 men.

. . . The Portuguese Peace League founded in May last has issued a protest, its first public act, against the Transvaal War, particularly against the conduct of England which it considers the cause of the conflict. The League, however, pays a strong tribute to the English peace societies and to the large body of Englishmen who did everything in their power to prevent the clash of arms.

. . . The W. C. T. U. of the United States will send two hundred delegates to the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union Convention to be held in Edinburgh next summer.

. . . The executive committee of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, London, has sent a circular to the European and American Peace Societies asking their opinion as to when they think would be an opportune moment for any of the Powers to offer to mediate in order to bring to an end the war in South Africa.

. . . The Society of American Authors has undertaken to secure a reduction of postage on authors' manuscripts. These manuscripts are not in any sense personal correspondence and ought not to have to pay letter postage.

. . . The Women's International Disarmament League of Paris has opened subscriptions for a fund to aid the widows and orphans of Boers slain in the Transvaal War.

. . . A similar fund has also been started by George W. Van Siclen, 141 Broadway, New York City, in response to an urgent appeal sent out by the Africander Bond of Cape Town. He will be glad to receive contributions, large or small, for this worthy object.

. . . The British Friends, foremost in every good work, are raising a Transvaal War Victims' Fund, to be distributed alike to suffering British and Boers, sick or wounded during the campaigns in South Africa. What they did in this way during the terrible scenes of the Franco-German War is one of the most blessed memories of history.

. . . Immigration into the United States from foreign countries the past year has shown large gains, the increase being especially great from Italy, Austro-Hungary and Russia. The increased emmigration from Finland has been caused by the Russianization of that country.

. . . In Munich, Germany, fifty thousand signatures have been obtained to a petition to the chancellor of the empire, expressing approval of the Hague conventions.

. . . Prof. John Bassett Moore, the distinguished authority on international law, in an able article in the current number of the *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, on the Hague arbitration convention, declares that this treaty represents a great advance in the development of international relations, and that the United States ought to be the first to approve and sustain it.

. . . The importation of tropical and sub-tropical products into the United States the past year has been over $300,000,000 worth, as against $250,000,000 the year previous.

. . . The recent death of Dorman B. Eaton in New York takes away one of the foremost civil service reformers and one of the strongest and most faithful friends of arbitration and peace.

. . . Emperor William has withdrawn the German military attaché from Paris because of insinuations made by Paris newspapers as to the activity of the German military officials in connection with the Dreyfus affair. Some of his military advisers strongly opposed the Emperor's course.

. . . The *North American Review* for December devoted almost half its space to articles on the South African question, by James Bryce, Carl Blind and others. Those studying the subject can find nothing more lucid and impartial.

. . . The death of Mr. Dwight L. Moody, mourned by all Christendom, takes away the foremost evangelist of this half of the century. In his later years he often spoke in great public meetings against international animosities as entirely un-Christian.

The Two Swords.

Luke 22 : 38.

BY CHRISTOPHER G. HAZARD.

Two swords enough? The battle is too great.
They come against us with a thousand blades.
Not so, my friends, for still the shout of faith,
A trumpet and an earthen vessel's light
Are stronger than the might of Midian's host.
The harvests of the earth fall to the sword,
But those of heaven are gathered by a word.
Into Love's heart all shafts of death are sped.
The sword is mightiest thus scabbarded.

CATSKILL, N. Y.

Peace.

BY GEORGE D. HERRON.

Thy sword and armor, soul,
This night,
Give to the angel here,
In white.
From blood-red battle call,
Be still:
Swift march the armies of
Love's will,
The captive common life
To free,
And this white angel leave
With thee.

Editorial Correspondence.

Cuba Since the War.

Approaching Cuba for the first time, one's mind is naturally filled with thoughts of Spain's oppression, the long cruelties of the Spanish-Cuban war, the deadly battles of the American army and fleet with the Spanish, the reconcentrado horrors, the filth of the cities, and other distressing things of which the island was so lately the scene. But for most of these things you now look in vain. The Spanish officials and soldiers are gone. Nearly all that is left to remind you of the Cuban army are the rural police in their brown uniforms. Only a

few American soldiers from the camps are seen strolling about the parks and plazas. The wreck of the Maine still lies in Havana harbor, calling to memory that night of horror and the uncontrollable passion which followed. On the south shore you see the wrecks of Cervera's fleet, and in the mouth of Santiago harbor a projecting spar of the Merrimac.

But beyond these there is little sign of the awful tragedies of tyranny and war so lately enacted on these now peaceful shores. The trenches on San Juan hill are nearly half filled with earth. The graves of the Spanish dead left there are almost hidden by the grass. The blockhouse is gone. The bullet-scars on the trees and bushes are half healed over. "Kettle Hill," up which the Rough Riders charged, is occupied by a herd of peacefully ruminating cattle, kept for the shambles. There is not a sign of blood at the "Bloody Ford," where so many American soldiers were shot down. El Caney is as peaceful as if it had never known the fury of battle. How quickly nature throws her mantle of healing silence over the fierce doings of men, as if anxious to hide them from sight and memory!

IMPROVEMENT OF THE CITIES.

Going into the cities one quickly discovers that much of the historic filth and dirt are gone. The American authorities in Havana, Santiago and other places have made them as clean as our American cities. The health conditions are rapidly becoming equal to those in the cities of Europe and the United States. The yellow fever, General Brooke told me, has already lost its terrors. The cities of Cuba have excellent water supplies, and the bread furnished by the bakeries is as good as one eats anywhere. The police are neatly clad and are an excellent looking set of men. Business is rapidly reviving, particularly in the seaport towns, and nearly everybody seems to have something to do. The customs service, which was as corrupt as any ever known, has been made honest and efficient. With the increased revenues the streets have been cleaned, new streets and roads constructed, the beginning of a better sewage made, the officials paid, etc. Many annoying taxes have been removed.

CARE OF THE RECONCENTRADO ORPHANS.

In the country districts there is now little sign of the distress which prevailed during the last days of Weyler. Here and there small banana patches uncared for tell of homes wrecked and families blotted out. But the reconcentrado orphans which remain have now nearly all been taken under care by somebody, some by the municipal authorities, some by the Red Cross, others by private persons, while others are being absorbed, one here and another there, into the families of their neighborhoods. Nearly all whom I saw now look well, and not very different in general appearance from the ordinary children seen on the streets and about the stations.

EXCELLENT WORK OF AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

Though I still believe that the war with Spain ought to have been avoided, and that the liberation of Cuba might have been brought about in a peaceful and perfectly honorable way, I take pleasure in bearing testimony to the excellent services performed by Governor-General Brooke and the other American officials since the war. They have been for the most part honest and impartial. They have labored steadily for the good of the Cubans, respecting them and putting them forward. Fewer Americans than I had supposed have been given positions. There has been little of military domination, except in name. The government has been essentially a civil government. What distrust the Cubans have had towards us has not arisen from the acts of these officials, but from the vagueness and uncertainty of declarations made in Washington. Whatever our opinions about the war against Spain, we must now look at Cuba as it is and judge of our duties accordingly. What has been done so far since the war, important as it is, must not be overestimated. The real problems remain to be solved.

ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE.

The present attitude of the people may be described in general as one of hope and expectancy, mingled with considerable restlessness. But there is much indifference on the part of a considerable percentage of the population. There is also a good deal of unhealthy greed of money and some low political selfishness. The right development of the island is therefore sure to be attended with peculiar dangers, and there will be more than the usual chances of failure. What the island needs from this country above everything else is a strong infusion, for the next quarter of a century, of the best spiritual and moral life of our people, in order to support and develop the aspirations for better things existing among the native people. That is needed more than capital, more than political advice.

EDUCATION A PREREQUISITE TO ADVANCEMENT.

The most elemental of the needs of the Cuban people, now that liberty has come to them, is education. This is a prerequisite to their religious, political and industrial advancement. The problem of education, fortunately, has fallen into good hands, and has been taken hold of in a way that gives promise of much success. Mr. Frye, the newly appointed superintendent of education, who has volunteered to give his services free for five years, has already completed arrangements for the opening of three thousand schools. This will give one school for each hundred of the three hundred thousand children of school age, only a small fraction of whom can read a word. Education is to be compulsory. Text-books will be furnished free. Two millions and a half of the revenues this year are to go for school purposes. The superintendents of the six provinces and the teachers will nearly all be Cubans, taken from the educated class. They are to be liberally paid and are to spend their vacations in teachers' institutes, or forfeit a portion of their salary.

Besides the public schools, there are a number of private schools, including Catholic Church schools, already in operation. It will be at least ten years before the effect of these schools, public and private, will be seriously felt in the life of the people, even if they are carried on in a wise and effective way. But nothing so encouraging has taken place, in the transformation coming to Cuba, as the gathering up from the streets and byways of these three hundred thousand children and putting them to school, with suitable courses of study prepared for them. My observation in some private schools opened last spring convinced me that the children for the most part are bright and will learn with fair rapidity. Indus-

trial education is also to have careful attention. General Brooke had been arranging to open shortly an industrial school capable of instructing about seven hundred boys. General Wood, his successor, is sure to carry this project, or some similar one, through. Along the educational line, therefore, there is much ground for hope.

STRONG DESIRE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

The political problem presented by Cuba under existing circumstances is not an easy one to see through at one glimpse. One thing, however, seems to me entirely clear. Whether the island is to be independent or to be annexed to the United States must be determined chiefly by the inhabitants themselves. I found everywhere evidences of a powerful national sentiment among the masses, the suppression of which, if it could be suppressed, would be the greatest blow that could be given to Cuban progress. Under present circumstances it is the one influence capable of keeping the masses aroused and holding their faces steadily towards the attainment of a higher and better life. This national sentiment is not the product of café gossip, nor of the schemes of self-seeking politicians, however they may take advantage of it. It is the spontaneous movement of the Cuban national heart, which has through long years dreamed of liberty and sighed for it night and day.

SPANISH BUSINESS MEN FAVOR ANNEXATION.

The business men of the island, largely Spaniards, are said to be in favor of annexation. Their motive is ostensibly financial; it is doubtless really political. Under an independent Cuban government they expect no political positions. Cubans associated with them in business are ostensibly in favor of annexation. Their real sentiments are the other way, as conversation with them usually reveals. This national sentiment is so strong that it dominates everything. The Spanish annexationists have to be extremely cautious in its presence. A Cuban rarely ventures to oppose it. It is very sensitive and keeps its ear steadily turned toward Washington. Whatever is done in our capital in reference to Cuba is published next morning in the Cuban papers, and read eagerly to the people at all places of rendezvous. These papers for the most part sympathize strongly with the general sentiment, though very respectful towards the United States. This national sentiment demands independence and the ultimate withdrawal of United States control.

WHY CIVIL GOVERNOR WAS OPPOSED.

My visit to Cuba happened to fall at the time of the talk at Washington of appointing a civil in place of the military governor. The excitement was very strong nearly everywhere, amounting in some places to positive irritation, and Washington was not left in ignorance for a day of the state of feeling. This was not because the Cubans are opposed to civil government. On the contrary, they are sick of strife and war, and desire to be rid of military domination. But this move meant to them annexation pure and simple. The President's yielding to their wishes in the matter and his assurance in his message that our government will keep its pledge to them relieved the strain, but has made it more than ever imperative that this country should be absolutely true to its word. Otherwise there will inevitably be trouble, and Cuban development will be much disturbed and marred. I could not discover that the people object to temporary supervision, provided they are assured of independence at last. But it is clear that even temporary supervision will speedily reach its limits.

HOW ANNEXATION SHOULD COME ABOUT, IF AT ALL.

Immediate annexation is then, in any peaceful and honorable way, clearly impossible, judging from present indications. If Cuba is ever to become a part of the United States, as I believe would be greatly to the advantage of its people and not injurious to us, it must come about as a spontaneous movement of the people themselves. They must have time to discuss it among themselves, and become convinced that with us they would enjoy all the advantages of local self-government and some strong additional advantages arising from union with a great country like ours. Meantime they should be allowed to develop their own government. It is quite true that many of them are as yet unable to exercise the functions of government, or even to vote with much intelligence. One-fourth of our own countrymen are in the same condition, not being able to read a word. There are, however, enough cultivated and upright men among the Cubans to lead them in developing a government which would be in every way better for them than forcible annexation, from the evil effects of which it would take them a long time to recover. If rightly treated, they will some day, I am sure, come to us of their own accord, as will all the other West India islands.

INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF CUBA.

The industrial development of Cuba will depend very much on the moral and political character which it shall evolve. The island is incomparably fertile, and it passes comprehension that after four hundred years since its discovery it still remains half a wilderness. With civil and religious freedom it would long ago have blossomed "like the garden of the Lord." A few men grew rich robbing the custom houses and manipulating the taxes, a few others in commerce and sugar growing, in spite of the corruption and oppression. But the masses of the people have always been poor. The interior of the island has never been developed, much of it never touched. Probably half the territory, taking the island as a whole, is virgin soil. Some parts are idle because of the desolations produced during the revolution, but much larger portions have never been occupied in any practical way. The political and commercial system of the past prevented the development of any but the coast regions and a few easily accessible portions of the interior. Several competent persons assured me that the island would support ten millions of people, instead of the million and a half now inhabiting it.

INDUSTRIAL NEEDS.

The first industrial need of Cuba, now that peace has come, is a good railroad throughout the entire length of the island, with branch roads to all important points. The existing roads are short, and do not reach any of the interior portions of the eastern half. Their service is poor and infrequent. The passenger and freight rates are so high as to be nearly prohibitive. First class tickets are over six cents a mile, and corn, two crops of which can be grown per year, can be imported cheaper than it can be brought from the interior to the coast towns.

With a good railroad system, abundant capital will soon find its way to all parts of the interior, where countless argosies of sugar, corn, bananas, oranges, pineapples, and everything else tropical, are waiting to be enticed from the soil. With the railroads must of course go good highways, of which there are yet none, and modern industrial implements and methods so far as applicable to the tropics. There is not likely to be any lack of outside industrial help. Business men from this country, England, France and Germany are already on the ground looking out for openings, and so far as they propose to do honest, legitimate business, their entrance into the island is in every way desirable.

DEPLORABLE RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

The religious condition of Cuba is most deplorable, and little has yet been done to improve it. The state church, which is now gone, was a worse failure, if possible, than the political administration. The masses of the people are without religious instruction. They are like sheep having no shepherd. Probably not one in ten of them ever owned or even saw the inside of a whole New Testament. They have largely lost confidence in the Catholic Church, and no longer attend its services in any considerable numbers. Many have conceived a positive aversion to it, and even speak contemptuously of all religion. The American Catholics are making vigorous efforts to regain the hold lost by their Spanish brethren. What success will attend their efforts will depend very much on the methods employed.

MEAGERNESS OF PROTESTANT WORK.

There has never been any Protestant work in Cuba worth speaking of. There is not a single Protestant house of worship, constructed for that purpose. The great work of Mr. Diaz in Havana is carried on in an old theater bought and turned to religious uses. All other work, so far as I could find out, is carried on in rented ordinary dwelling houses, poorly suited to the purpose. Even now there is amazingly little being done by our Protestant churches and mission boards compared with what ought to be done. Everything else has moved faster than the churches. One cannot but compare with great regret their slowness in undertaking the evangelization of Cuba with the fiery zeal with which many of their members, both preachers and laymen, clamored for war with Spain.

From what I saw at the stations already opened, I am convinced that the people in general are open to and hungry for the gospel. They can be reached in multitudes if it is presented to them promptly in its simplicity, free from traditionalism and formality, as a gospel of truth, light and spiritual freedom. The Baptists, who began work before the war and have done most since, are having very encouraging results both among adults and young people. Their rooms are usually crowded to overflowing with eager listeners. The children come in troops, and sing the gospel hymns with a delightful freshness of interest. The same is true, in the main, of the Southern Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists and the Friends, wherever they have begun work. But the meagerness of the work so far undertaken becomes painfully evident when one sees in Cienfuegos and Santiago, with sixty and forty thousand inhabitants respectively, only two organizations each, reaching all told only a few hundreds of people. Havana, with two hundred and fifty thousand people, has six organizations at work, reaching all told, directly and indirectly, possibly five thousand persons.

OPPORTUNITY GREAT FOR AMERICAN CHURCHES.

The religious bodies of this country, to whom this spiritually starved people are looking with hope and trust, have never had such an opportunity thrust upon them before. I am afraid they have little sense of its urgency. It offers unparalleled openings for the young life of the churches, and promises extraordinary returns in the building up of the kingdom of God. The future of Cuba depends very greatly on the promptness and largeness of spirit with which our American Christianity responds to this call of God, to this cry of spiritual need going up at our very doors. The lack of the gospel in its purity has been at the root of all Cuba's stagnation and calamities. Whatever political reformation may do for her, however much she may be prepared for a better future by education and industrial improvement, her spiritual life must be touched and transformed from on high, if she is to rise very high in the scale of civilization and maintain permanently the gains which she may make.

B. F. T.

The Coming Reform — A Woman's Word.

BY MARY ELIZABETH BLAKE.

It is strange what a hold old habits retain upon the world at large, although the circumstances which formed them may have entirely disappeared. Centuries ago the total absence of law and the poor apology for order which existed among the governing forces of masses of men rendered an appeal to arms the only solution possible in case of difficulties between individuals or nations. A blind feeling of reverence and trust in the divine power accompanied this attempt at settlement; so that, entering upon the battle or the duel with the conviction that God would aid the victim and confound the oppressor, it frequently resulted that right did make might, and that wrong was vanquished by justice. Our broader and sadder wisdom has laughed such faith to scorn; intricate relations between community and community, as well as complicated laws governing society, have increased a thousandfold the causes of quarrel and misconception; we have removed the duel from the pale of civilization and Christianity, and relegated all questions of dispute between man and man, whether civil or criminal, to the arbitration of courts or to the decision of a body of jurors. But we still have recourse to war in settlement of difficulty between nations; and the wickedness which we call murder in the singular becomes transformed to glory in the plural. We do this with open eyes, and unabashed; although we know but too well, by bitter experience of life and the world, that the justice of a cause or the honesty of a motive count for less than nothing in determining the result, if the opposite side can produce more men and more money to equip them. What a sad commentary upon the state of public opinion and upon the forces which rule the chances of defeat or success is this sentence, taken from an editorial of the New York *Sun* apropos of the question between the United States and

Canada: "It is not the right or the wrong, the justice or injustice of a cause that determines these disputes among nations; it is the caliber and range of the rifled guns, the thickness of the armor plating, the speed of the ships of war." To what base level has the moral nature sunk when we must consent to give up a cherished principle or to act as the ruffian who demands the same renunciation at the hands of another, according as our army is, or is not, upon a war footing. What, after all, is a war footing? Millions of men taken from honest toil and happy homes and sweet life itself; millions of money diverted from useful industries and needed improvements and the thousand waiting paths of peace and progress; millions of acres of fruitful soil and mighty cities given up to wrath and desolation, to suffering of hunger and thirst and infernal torture of mind and body on the part of their inhabitants — and all for what? Not that justice may be done nor right avenged, since we have seen just now that neither of those factors count in the result; but that in the end all this inhuman slaughter, all this agony and devastation, all this crying and mighty evil, shall go to prove which country has the longest purse and the most deadly rifles — a problem that could have been so readily and quietly settled without shot or groan.

DOING EVIL THAT GOOD MAY COME.

It has been stated that certain motives — first of all, that of patriotism — hallow even warfare and heighten every virtue of which men and nations are possessed. And this may be quite true without at all touching the merits of the question under consideration. The individual protecting his family and fireside from the attack of an assailant, or the patriot yielding fortune and life in defence of the liberty and principles of his country, are examples as purely heroic as the soul can conceive, and entitled to all honor and glory. But how about the state of morality which sanctions private robbery and public misrule for the sake of calling out these noble attributes in humanity? Why should the hero be called to offer up an existence which should be a source of prosperity and thanksgiving to his native land, in accordance with an unreasonable and inhuman policy, which subjects a question of abstract morality and justice to the variable decision of material force? Why should the sanctity with which the law hedges about the humblest home, offering its protection and security, be denied to the nobler proportions of the nation, which is left an open prey to the ambition or duplicity of its neighbors? If avarice, or covetousness, or cruelty, or revenge for some fancied wrong, pushes a fellow-man into open attempt to coerce your action or ravage your possessions, the government places its power and its wealth at your command to repel and punish the offender by legal methods and penalties. But when the field of operations is enlarged, and the threat or the quarrel is between nations instead of individuals, there is no safeguard for law and order but the brutal and unjust exercise of force.

FRANCE AND GERMANY.

When Germany and France stood face to face, throwing all their magnificent resources of material and intellectual wealth into the hateful vindictiveness of passion and frenzied rivalry of force, what did they hope to gain in concession from one or both that might not have been better granted by yielding to the representation of wise and disinterested men, without the wicked fever of triumph on the one hand and the desolating humiliation of defeat on the other which has poisoned their mutual relationship ever since? Who pretends to believe — even to the most rabid upholder of the absolute necessity of war — that the Franco-Prussian disputes were in any degree more fairly and justly settled after the bloody struggle than before? One country, tortured and tormented, wounded to the bitter depths of her pride and self-respect, anguished by the overthrow of the results of her patient toil and magnificent intelligence through years of prosperity and peace, is forced to gather from the ruins of her overthrown grandeur some millions of tribute in sign of her degradation before her rival. The other, flushed with haughty triumph, buries the wounds she has received under this golden mantle of increased wealth and possessions, and looks about with increased eagerness and readiness for other fancied affronts or possible perquisites. In the breast of each rankles that dark and deadly animosity which must ever be a barrier between conqueror and conquered. On the one hand suspicion, on the other hate, stand between helpfulness and common interest and brotherly love; no scheme of possible greatness or glory can stimulate victor or vanquished like that of urging again the hateful strife between retaliation and conceit.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC WRONGS.

What would we think of private difficulties settled upon the same principle? One man thinks another has wronged him in violating the terms of an agreement, in marking the boundaries of his domain, in maligning him before his fellows, in cheating him of just dues, in interfering in any way with his rights of property or person. Does he resort to fisticuffs or revolvers? Does he institute a siege of his neighbor's premises, or attempt the abduction of his neighbor's person, or right himself in turn by the larceny of his neighbor's purse? No; for the sentiment of the world denies that any such measure is proper or adequate for the balancing of right or wrong. So far from having in any way assisted the efforts of justice or vindicated his cause, the second man, no matter how just his complaint or how arbitrary the injury under which he suffered, would have laid himself liable to punishment and loss of personal liberty, in the interests of society and the state. How then can the state ignore for herself the argument which she so wisely and logically applies to the separated interests of her sons? Can she allow that specious reasoning which makes the greater evil less vicious than the smaller, and which grades the judgment upon guilt in inverse proportion to its magnitude? That would be giving point to the sneer which dubs the impoverished stealer of a dollar a thief, while the wealthy robber of thousands is only a respectable defaulter. That would be ordaining the gallows as the penalty for one life taken in a street brawl, and showering honor and glory as reward for battlefields gory with heaps of slain and pallid with dying lips crying to heaven in agony. Alas! and alas! is not this just what we are doing when we close our eyes to this lurid and hideous cloud which still hides from us the sun of righteousness and the gospel of the Prince of Peace?

THE THUNDER OF PUBLIC OPINION.

When we talk of the needs of humanity and try to unlock some of the thousand and one petty hindrances which close the doors of happiness and prosperity, why do we not first strive to gather together all strength, all aims, all energy, until mankind, in one unanimous thunder of public opinion, demands for itself release from this infernal and monstrous evil? Why do we not, in school and college, in workshop and study, in the street and on the housetop, by the press and by the pulpit, teach, talk, and preach until the irrational aspect of this subject of war shall become familiar to the world which now accepts it almost unquestioningly. A few individuals here and there are doing noble work in pressing the claims of national arbitration upon the attention of mankind; but they are repelled by such a mass of indifference, of skepticism, and of interested opposition as makes their effort void. We of America thought ourselves — alas, that one must use a past tense! — particularly fitted by natural position and by happy circumstance for this evangelical work. We were practically outside the pernicious pressure brought to bear upon the different nationalities of the old world by political intrigue, by rivalry of aggressive policies and by an heredity of old feuds. We could afford to champion a righteous cause without fear or favor because of the baptismal promise by which our sponsors had pledged us to the higher purposes of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Among all creeds and classes were portions of a great following which believed in the divine mission of peace-maker and peace-keeper which had been entrusted to us — and perhaps this strong feeling blinded us to the proximity of danger. We waxed prosperous, great, powerful in the sunshine of immunity; and then the pitfall of success opened at our feet. Greed and overweening ambition have cursed us,— as at some time or other they have cursed every great nation of history,— and we have fallen into entanglements of policy and principle which may well make the faint-hearted doubt whether we have any right to look longer for the coming reform.

Yet even in the midst of the wrong which has been done us, when a bad cause is being propped up with false sentiment, there is no reason to be discouraged. Could any lesser danger have called forth the united expression of strong public opinion which this late action of government has evoked? Could any lesser evil have drawn into one solid front of disapproval such a body of great men, intellectual and spiritual leaders of the people, as have honored themselves by denouncing this new worship of false gods? Irrespective of party or place, and unheeding the taunt of disloyalty which springs so easily to the lips, they have opposed with convincing argument, with sound sense, with unwavering devotion, this fatal policy of conquest and strife which is dragging us from safety. From Cabinet and Council, men of action and men of theories, among scholars and thinkers, the clear-headed and strong-minded in every walk of life, have placed themselves on record as against this abandonment of principle on the part of the native land. Fewer in number than the thoughtless multitude, but splendid in influence, they appeal to the past and the future, and oppose the calm of sober judgment to the frenzy of base passions.

So there is little cause for grave disquiet. Within a decade the world has known the adjustment of the Fisheries dispute, the decision of the Venezuelan Boundaries, the appeal of the Czar of Russia for universal disarmament, and the great Peace Conference of The Hague. Within less than three decades from the date of the settlement of the Alabama claims, there have been forty-eight important international decisions, where but twenty-seven comparatively trifling issues were submitted to arbitration in the seventy years preceding. The wildest enthusiast among the advocates of peace a century ago could scarce have hoped for more than this. Year after year, in the Congress of the United States, bills are presented in furtherance of the righteousness of mediation. Year after year, before the Parliament of Great Britain, the monster petition demanding legislation instead of war in the settlement of difficulties between nations returns to clamor for attention from the law-givers, increased by tens of thousands of powerful names since its last advent. And soon the law-givers can no longer dare to ignore it. It is quite safe to say that a hundred years ago even the conception of such advance was impossible. And better than all is the spirit in which these decisions of arbitration have been received. "In these instances the trouble has not only been quickly and inexpensively settled, but settled for all time. No war has ever arisen over the decision of an arbitral court; in all but two or three instances the decision has been cheerfully accepted by the unsuccessful nation; and instead of deepening animosities and jealousies as war does, these settlements have brought the countries into much more friendly relations."

NATIONS IN CONCERT.

It is quite evident that in attempting the overthrow of this mighty evil only concerted action can be of any avail. It is utterly impossible that one nation should begin to reduce its armaments while others preserve their standing armies and their belief in appeals to brute force and the lower passions in man. Surrounded by watchful eyes and grasping desires, each country must supply itself with the means of preserving its integrity of action and hold itself ready to repel either coercion or invasion. But concerted action can only be the result of individual thought and judgment. Each person must reach for himself the ultimate and abstract merit of arbitration as opposed to force in the settlement of national difficulties before he can become a strength to the cause he desires to champion, and an apostle for the speeding of such doctrines among his fellows; just as in battling with the evil of intemperance, it is to the dawning intelligence of the child, disciplined into strong conviction of the man, that we must address ourselves, rather than to any coercive force of prohibitory law. It is in this way that every poor and weak word, spoken in honesty of conviction from one heart to another, carries some weight with it; and that the discussion of such a tremendous question becomes allowable to us all.

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS.

If the august senators and representatives upon whose shoulders rest the weight of state affairs only knew it, there would be more honor, more usefulness and more claim upon the gratitude and homage of posterity in the pushing forward of this great scheme of civilization than

in all the petty details that concern distribution of patronage or abuses of local government. For here is a question which concerns all nations and all people. Here is a study which has to do with untold wealth, with gigantic interests, with the demands of enlightenment and progress, and with the common heart of humanity. Other considerations may be of topical importance. The care of manufactures in the East and productions in the West; a fishery question at the North, and an educational bill at the South,— even the difference in policy between constitutional conservatism and ambitious expansion,— may each have important claims upon time and attention; but a measure which has to deal with the life or death of millions of men, with the diversion into channels of prosperity and improvement of billions of money now wasted in accomplishing ruin and devastation, is of more consequence than all the others put together.

THE VERDICT OF HISTORY.

I sometimes wonder if, when we in turn have become a thing of the past, and taken our place under the investigating lens of the future antiquary, this impenetrable blindness of ours in regard to the wickedness of war, and the utter absurdity of applying to it the principles of justice, will not be the greatest stumbling block in forming a critical analysis of our character. Many precious impulses toward right, many heroic efforts in the way of helpfulness and uplifting of our race, much deep and earnest thought upon every matter appertaining to purer and higher life — mentally, at least, if not morally — he must certainly admit for us who would fairly judge our progress and civilization. He would no doubt praise the efforts we are making to raise the standard of intelligence among the common people, and the discrimination which is leading us to combat such vices as intemperance by training the youthful mind into a healthful understanding of its inherent wrongfulness. He would admire our widespread schemes of benevolence and philanthropy, and place it to our credit that in this latter half of the nineteenth century we had begun to notice the claims of the heathen and the savage at our gates, as well as of those further away.

He will look with delight upon the strides we have made in reducing the strain of physical labor for the working-man, and upon the series of brilliant experiments which have brought electricity and a score of other hitherto unknown forces into the realm of man's control. But he would stand dismayed before the idiosyncrasy which could permit an intelligence so widespread and benign to tolerate the same *barbarism of warfare* which disfigured the first century and the tenth and the sombre days of the middle ages. He would pause in the sure verdict of high enlightenment and noble achievement which otherwise would stand as the exponent of our age, and strive to find theories and possibilities which should account for this conflict between absurdity and common sense. "So full of sense," he would groan, "and so amenable to law and order in their private relations; so exact in the attempt to render justice in case of petty disputes and trifling quarrels; so anxious to imbue the minds of their children with clear ideas of right and wrong and with the necessity of combating evil by principle instead of force! And yet flying to Krupp cannon and rifled guns in cases of national dispute; bankrupting their treasuries and taxing their inhabitants for the means of wholesale slaughter among those very masses; offering inducements to superior talent to buoy itself upon the discovery of more terrible explosives and more deadly engines for destroying life — and doing all this in the name of Order and Humanity! What a people!"

DUELLING AND WAR.

In looking over an old copy of *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1887, I came upon a curious commentary on the general subject of warfare, in an article entitled "Duelling in Paris." Entirely to my amazement, and I am quite sure equally to the surprise of a large proportion of its readers, the article showed that the duel, both in theory and practice, was at that late date the orthodox method for settling disputes among cultivated Frenchmen. "Never has the rapier been held in higher honor in France than at the present day, and perhaps never since the times of Richelieu and the Fronde has duelling been more common." Recent events show that this is still true in 1900.

Nor does it appear to have lost its hold on fashionable society in the German empire. Still, the men of France and Germany at least have the courage of their convictions. They carry their belief in an appeal to arms as a necessity in the settlement of human affairs from high to low, through all the varieties of case and number. They apply the principle in a general way, and appeal to the same tribunal for the arrangement of individual as for complex difficulties. There is no break in their logic. It starts from an absolutely false principle, but we must do them the justice of confessing that they maintain the same false principle throughout. They do not attempt to serve a certain purpose by leaving their first premises in the lurch and adopting a wholly opposite line of argument. It is we, Americans and English, who are guilty of this moral perversion. We despise the duel. We ignore it utterly as a standard for the regulation of dispute or the righting of wrong. We sneer, from our loftier conception of reason, at the primitive and untrained intelligence which can see use or cause for such a blot upon civilization in the nineteenth century. And then, still sustained by the heroic sense of superiority, we calmy turn about and make our preparations for the greatest duel of all — a duel of hundreds of thousands instead of single men; and we proceed to burn, to kill, to destroy, by every art which the ingenuity of the intellect can devise and the skill of the hand accomplish. We maim and blight thousands of lives instead of one; we cripple the resources of a nation instead of a household; we bring despair and rebellion into whole communities of men—and we carry away just as much triumph, as much reward of conscience and as much vindication of right, victor or vanquished, as the two men from their duelling field. Yet we look down upon our fiery French brother because he happens to be more logical than ourselves! "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" Who was it that spoke of straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel? I would like to commend that little sentence to the profound attention of every American who is tempted to an emotion of self-satisfaction and serene congratulation that we are not like unto those French and German publicans, who offend our finer sensibilities by such absurdities against common sense.

Peace Bureau's Appeal on the Subject of the Transvaal War.

When, during the month of September last, the correspondence between the government of Great Britain and that of the South African Republic indicated a threatening turn in affairs, many eminent persons in all countries lifted their voices in behalf of conciliation and peace. Among other things, they proposed the application of the excellent provisions for arbitration, mediation and good offices adopted by the delegates of the governments who met at The Hague. The friends of peace were greatly pained to see in this case passion triumphing over goodwill and neighborly regard. The provisions of the Hague Convention relative to the good offices of other states were declined, and blood began to flow.

Since the opening of hostilities scarcely a day has passed without new efforts at peace having been made by the peace societies or by the International Peace Bureau, which serves as their organ. All has been in vain, and, the war having broken out, the whites continue to slaughter each other in the presence of the savages, whom they ought by peaceful means to be bringing to civilization.

A cry of desolation has arisen on all sides, notably in England, where courageous citizens have earnestly striven to create round about them a spirit of pacification and justice. The expression of a like sentiment has been made in all the countries of the globe, and it may be affirmed that public opinion has pronounced itself against the continuation of a fratricidal war whose prolongation can only heap ruin upon ruin and create undying hatred.

But this expression of opinion is not enough. It must also manifest itself in a practical way, sufficiently energetical to make itself felt in official circles.

The British government has notified the powers of the state of war existing since the 11th of October. This notification imposes upon the governments the obligation of neutrality toward the belligerents, but on the other hand it confers upon them the privilege of applying to the case Article 3 of the Hague Convention, which reads as follows:

"The powers not interested in the dispute shall have the right to offer good offices or mediation even during the course of hostilities. The exercise of this right shall never be regarded by either of the parties in dispute as an unfriendly act."

Men and women, you who believe that too much blood has already been shed in this fratricidal struggle; you who feel pity for the families decimated by the war, and who suffer with your fellow-men in their sufferings; act in such a way that your ardent desires that mediation may be offered by the states which are not parties to the conflict may be known to the government of your nation, that its loyal concurrence in the work of pacification may be assured. You will thus aid in preventing the nineteenth century from leaving to its successor the bloody heritage of the triumph of the spirit of war.

In all the parliaments and in all the governments you will find earnest supporters, who possibly are only awaiting a manifestation on your part to make the suppliant voice of human pity and the mighty voice of the public conscience heard in the high places of the nation.

The peace societies, however active and devoted they may be, will be powerless to accomplish this urgent work of relief if you fail to support them; if you confine yourselves to regretting in silence the disasters and crimes of war.

Arise, then, and speak, you who recognize in both heart and reason the miseries heaped up by each day of war, and the dangers incurred by civilization through each combat. As the Red Cross workers are hastening to the scene of carnage to relieve the sufferings of the wounded, so may you hasten to bring to the suffering peoples the far greater solace of conciliation and peace, before the war now going on is transformed into a veritable human butchery.

"Remember Majuba Hill!"

Many references have lately been made in the daily press to Majuba Hill, that well-situated eminence just within the Transvaal, at the northern end of the Drakensberg, and at the apex of the hardly contested "triangle" of Natal. Here, as we know, the British forces were badly defeated in the war that was waged against the Boers in 1881, and it was after this repulse that Gladstone, then at the helm of the British government, had the Christian fortitude to cease from the war, from a firm conviction that his country was really in the wrong. In a debate in the Raad of the South African Republic, just before the present war broke out, President Krüger averred, in referring to that highly honorable act, that it "is indelibly engraved on the minds of the inhabitants of the Transvaal as the noblest of England's deeds." A writer in the *Episcopal Recorder* remarked in the spring of 1898: "While the world sympathetically waits upon the rapidly declining days of Mr. Gladstone, it should never forget that he ventured to make peace with the Boers after the defeat of Majuba Hill, because he believed they had right on their side, though no one better than himself knew the storm of objurgation it would subject him to at the hands of his Tory opponents. No greater instance of true moral courage has been witnessed in modern times."

At the time of this incident of so very infrequent a sort in historic annals, the New York *Graphic* said: "Mr. Gladstone is a brave man. It takes a deal of courage to be a coward in the teeth of popular sentiment at home." In the same vein, the *Christian Intelligencer*, in the course of a truly appreciative comment upon the lesson of the Majuba Hill incident, justly asked: "Shall we be noble enough to recognize this practical Christianity, and shall we be true enough to imitate it, and more and more to make the law of the kingdom of God the law of the nations?"

When it was evident, only a few short weeks ago, that the dread clash between the Briton and the Boer was scarcely likely to be averted, Edward J. Wheeler wrote at the end of his fine poem on the threatened event:

> "Oh! for one hour of Gladstone's voice to plead
> The cause of God against the claims of greed."

But it is not this and the noble act of Gladstone that the Britain of to-day is calling to remembrance. As the naval transports, carrying the army of relief, leave the shores of England for the distant field of conflict, "Remember Majuba!" is the hoarse cry of revenge that

speeds them on their way. So now, Swinburne, going beyond the fiery measures of the Jameson Raid of the poet laureate, calls to his countrymen —

> "To scourge these dogs, agape with jaws afoam,
> Down out of life. Strike, England, and strike home!"

In regard to this spirit of revenge, W. T. Stead remarks: "It is no use denying it—the spirit which is actuating people to clamor for war is the desire to avenge Majuba. I was up at Leek the other night speaking on behalf of peace, and the whole town had been flooded with leaflets, saying, 'Remember Majuba!' A soldier came on the platform and asked the audience to 'remember the massacre at Majuba.' It is not for the Outlanders' grievances that this war is to be waged, but to avenge Majuba."

Under hateful teachings such as these, no wonder that the Christian statesmanship of Gladstone, as displayed eighteen years ago, is now, alas! stigmatized in many quarters as a policy of weakness and as altogether a miserable mistake. Notwithstanding the grateful zephyr that was wafted over land and sea, from The Hague's "House in the Wood" last summer, there seems suddenly, to-day, almost an angry repelling of the providential opportunity "more and more to make the law of the kingdom of God the law of the nations." Not a nation to take up the cross, but, instead, there surges up a murderous refrain to "strike, strike home!" in deadliest revenge for the humiliating defeat at Majuba Hill. With this fell instinct, world's honors and the winning of the Victoria Cross uppermost, how many an officer in the Queen's army pressed on to his death in the late battles around the heights of Dundee and Glencoe, and on the rivers Modder and Tugela.

"But God forbid," said Paul, the apostle, "that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." With which consolatory sentiment well agrees the word of Tertullian, who, commending the non-avenging Christian practice of his time,—the second century after Christ,—justly observes, in replying to the query he himself propounds, "Would you have also fightings and wrestlings?" "Well, of those there is no lacking, and they are not of slight account. Behold unchastity overcome by chastity, perfidy slain by faithfulness, cruelty stricken by compassion, impudence thrown into the shade by modesty—these are the contests we have among us, and in these *we* win our crowns. But would you have something of blood, too? You have Christ's."

JOSIAH W. LEEDS.

The Influence of Commerce in Promoting Peace.

BY HON. WILLIAM J. COOMBS.

Address at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference.

A desire has been expressed that I should speak again, as I did last year, of the influence of commerce in promoting peace among the nations of the world, and its probable instrumentality in the great movement in which we are engaged, the establishment of a tribunal of arbitration.

When we met here last year the signs were not very promising. Our own nation was in the midst of a deadly conflict, while European nations were quarreling over the division of the Chinese empire. But suddenly, when the skies seemed darkest, a light sprang up in the northern heavens from which as it streamed to the zenith we recognized the voice of the bear changed to the tones of the dove, speaking of peace. The Czar has challenged the world to appeal to reason and argument in place of the deadly wager of battle. He has challenged the nations of Europe as well as our own nation. The bleak north has challenged the sunny south. The nation farthest in the rear has challenged the nations farthest in the front of civilization, they have responded, and to-day one of the most important commissions in the world's history is in session at The Hague. We cannot venture to hope that all he aimed to accomplish will come from its deliberations, but doubtless enough good will result to start the world forward in the direction of a more perfect result.

My experience as a merchant (and it has been my fortune to do business with every nation of the earth) has convinced me that commerce has done more to civilize the nations, and bring them closer together and inspire in them confidence in one another, than has been accomplished by the various organizations of government. While its operations are carried on under the nominal protection of governments, it has been "a law unto itself," and has in great part created its own machinery. Where government has interfered and attempted to override their laws by its enactments, they have either been practically ignored or swept away as by a flood.

Government can do little more than establish standards common to all; it cannot create or regulate the machinery to carry on the intricate operations of the merchant. These laws and this machinery have been of gradual evolution, dating from the time when men exchanged one commodity for another by barter, hand to hand delivery, until now, when transactions covering billions of dollars are consummated upon the faith of documents representing values or merchandise. I give an illustration. The merchant ships his goods upon a vessel bound for a foreign port, for which the captain gives him a bill of lading. The insurance company, without having seen the goods, insures them and issues its policy. With these two documents attached to his invoice the merchant sells his bill of exchange to the banker and receives the money for it. All is based upon confidence, which is seldom betrayed.

During my business life I received thousands of these bills of exchange drawn upon European bankers by men in the cities and ports of South America or Africa, or in towns up the Amazon or from back upon the slopes of the Andes, and confidently sold them in the market without misgiving of their acceptance and payment at maturity, and I cannot now recall a case in which they were not paid either by the party upon whom they were drawn or the drawer or the endorser.

The world is a great deal more honest than most people think. My experience has convinced me that honesty is the rule and dishonesty the exception. In a business reaching all over the world, not only with commercial centres, but with out of the way places, such as the mountains of South America, the colonies of Africa, and even with the deserts of Arabia, with places where it was impossible to enforce collection by law, in such a

business extending through a generation, my losses from dishonesty were less than one-sixteenth of one per cent. upon the amount of the operations.

There is a great temptation for me to enlarge upon the manner in which commerce weaves together upon the warp of intelligent self-interest the various nations of the earth. You have in your mind the steamship and the sailing vessel breasting the waves of the ocean, and the railroad train dashing across the continent, but you do not remember the caravan in the desert going from oasis to oasis, or the llama train winding down the mountain trail to the seaport; yet all are shuttles binding and weaving the fabric of brotherhood.

In comparison with this advance towards brotherhood and a better understanding of one another on the part of the people of various nations, the progress made in that direction by organized governments has been slow and halting. The unwritten laws evolved by mutual necessities have proved to be more helpful than treaties and statutes. Government can never rise above the medium level of public morality. Commerce rises to the highest level and holds its votaries there.

Government does not willingly yield anything; it holds fast every prerogative; it is jealous of yielding up any of its privileges. If a new prerogative is granted by the people on the spur of necessity, it is never cancelled when that necessity has ceased to exist. For that reason I have always looked with disfavor upon those things that made it necessary to temporarily clothe government with greater powers.

Whatever is accomplished in the way of the triumph of arbitration will be reached, not by the involuntary acts of governments, but by the people forcing them to adopt the measures. We shall find that whatever agreement may be reached by the commission at The Hague will meet with more or less resistance from the organized governments when ratification is attempted. We must be prepared to bring pressure upon our legislators that they do not stand in the way of such approval. An association like ours, which has for years been considering the question in all of its bearings, can be of immense assistance in accomplishing proper results.

From what I have said you will understand that I believe strongly in the influence of commerce in knitting the peoples of the world together, and I believe no less strongly in the influence of Christianity. We must not underrate or give a second place to the benefits and the influence of the blessed religion which is to-day discredited by so many. Let us hold fast to our faith in that, while we use also all minor agencies, and we can look forward confidently to the time when the Lord shall make of all nations one people.

New Books.

BETTER-WORLD PHILOSOPHY. By J. Howard Moore. Chicago: The Ward Waugh Co. Cloth, 275 pages.

This stimulating and suggestive book is a strong, manly plea against the prevailing egotism of the world and the social inheritances and environments which propagate and strengthen it. The titles of the chapters are: The Problem of Industry, Blunders, The Social Problem, Egoism and Altruism, The Preponderance of Egoism, The Social Ideal, Derivation of the Natures of Living Beings, Race Culture, Individual Culture. All these subjects are treated in an incisive and forceful way, the author going straight at the roots. Under Industry, he argues that coöperation is to prevail, because ends may thus be more easily reached. The problem of social life is the problem of the relation of each individual to the rest of the universe. The author argues that the principle of natural selection has established relations among living beings which are irrational and barbarous. The moral progress thus far made has been made in spite of and in opposition to this principle. The great task of reforming and regenerating humanity consists in the elimination of those tendencies implanted in the natures of living beings by the struggle and survival principle. The principles of egoism and altruism are discussed with a fine insight, and in a way free from the ordinary dullnesses and commonplaces of the subject. The author is at his best in the two chapters on Race Culture and Individual Culture. Of the many striking passages found in the book, here is one from the chapter on Individual Culture: "Egoism must be recognized, and recognized as the most formidable fact in human nature. It must be discouraged at all hazards, even, if necessary, at the expense of intelligence. It must be combated from the moment a child is capable of impressions. The young should be *drilled* and *disciplined* in social elegance, and with the same valiancy and science as are employed in the development of the intellect. Altruism should be inculcated from the cradle, and savagery should be denounced. Maxims and precepts, proclaiming the equal preciousness of all, should be assiduously dinned into the consciousness. The young should be convinced beyond all chance of deterioration that the only laudable thing in the world is the causing of happiness, and that happiness in others is just as precious and valuable as it is in themselves. . . . Every child, and not only every child, but every intelligence, should avoid the sin of struggle—I mean of struggle *against others*. The only legitimate adversary is the inanimate—*never a living soul*. Instead of struggle against others, children should be taught helpfulness, struggle *for* others, sympathy instead of subjugation. It is an injury for a child ever to participate in any game of contest. It fires the very instinct it is the duty of culture to curb. Childhood pastimes should be scrupulously those which afford divertisement without degradation: dumb-bells, see-saw, sailing, stilts, kites, tree-planting, strolling, exploring, sleighing, swimming, swinging, outing, and the like. Or, better than pastimes which do not stimulate egoism, are those which actuate altruism. The coöperative construction of a mimic dam or domicile is better than bicycling, in so far as character culture is concerned, because in the one there is actual cultivation of helpfulness, while the other contains only the negative virtue of neglecting the cultivation of egoism."

THE EMPIRE OF THE SOUTH; ITS RESOURCES, INDUSTRIES AND RESORTS. Published by the Southern Railway Co., Washington, D. C. A beautifully illustrated book of nearly 200 pages, bound in heavy paper, giving in a collected form much information about all parts of the South, which cannot ordinarily be found, or found only at the cost of much expenditure of time.

The Christmas Fight

It would seem that, in this murderous war between the British and the Boers, even Christmas day was stained with bloodshed, and deeply, too. One might have thought that the anniversary of the birth of our Lord, a day which all Christians hold in special reverence as a season of peace and goodwill toward men, might have been observed, at least by an informal suspension of hostilities, and Wednesday's dispatches from South Africa reported that this had been done; but, according to later advices the war demon was unwilling to hold his hand for a day. A dispatch from Pretoria states that on Dec. 25 the British garrison of Mafeking made a sortie in an armored train and attacked one of the forts of the Boer besiegers with cannon and Maxim guns. The assailants were repulsed, after a stiff fight, in which they lost one hundred and nine men killed and wounded, while the Boers admit a loss of only two killed and seven wounded. Among the killed on the British side were Capt. Vernon of the 60th rifles and Capt. Sandford, A. S. C., two officers who went out from England on special service, and were attached to Col. Baden-Powell's staff from the beginning of the siege; among the wounded were Lord Edward Cecil, a son of the British Prime Minister, and Lord Charles Cavendish-Bentinck, a half-brother of the Duke of Portland. It will be seen that in this Christmas sortie gentle blood set a brave example, as, indeed, it has done throughout the war.

There are good men on both sides, and, so far as personal courage counts, there is not, so far as we have noticed, any choice between them. The more the pity that such lives are put at risk and that no one seems able to stop the slaughter or even to set a term to it. Taking British and Boers together, there will soon be near upon a quarter of a million men engaged in killing one another, in a quarrel, which, if reason had ruled the hour, should have been settled without burning a cartridge. This is the sorry spectacle which the world presents at the opening of the new year. Let us hope that some way will be discovered for reaching a pacific adjustment before the year reaches the end of its quarter. — *Boston Herald.*

Red Cross Work in South African War.

The American Committee to aid the Red Cross Work in the South African War in their circular say:

Having learned that the Boers of the Republics in South Africa now engaged in war with the British empire are greatly deficient in hospitals and hospital supplies for caring for the wounded and suffering within their lines, this committee has been formed in response to a wish expressed by many, for the purpose of affording a way by which the gifts of the American people for Red Cross work within the Boer lines may be sent to the right place.

The British army, as we are informed, is well equipped with Red Cross facilities, but the Boer forces, we learn, are dependent almost wholly upon volunteer physicians and surgeons, a number so small that both the British and Boer wounded within the Boer lines must necessarily suffer.

The committee has made arrangements for the present, at least, to make use of the Netherlands Red Cross, a responsible organization, already in the field, insuring the prompt and effective use of every dollar contributed. It will also avail itself of such other means of accomplishing its object as may be advised by the Central Red Cross Committee at Geneva.

Contributions for this humane object should be sent to Tunis G. Bergen, treasurer of the committee, No. 55 Liberty Street, New York.

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OF THE

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ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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